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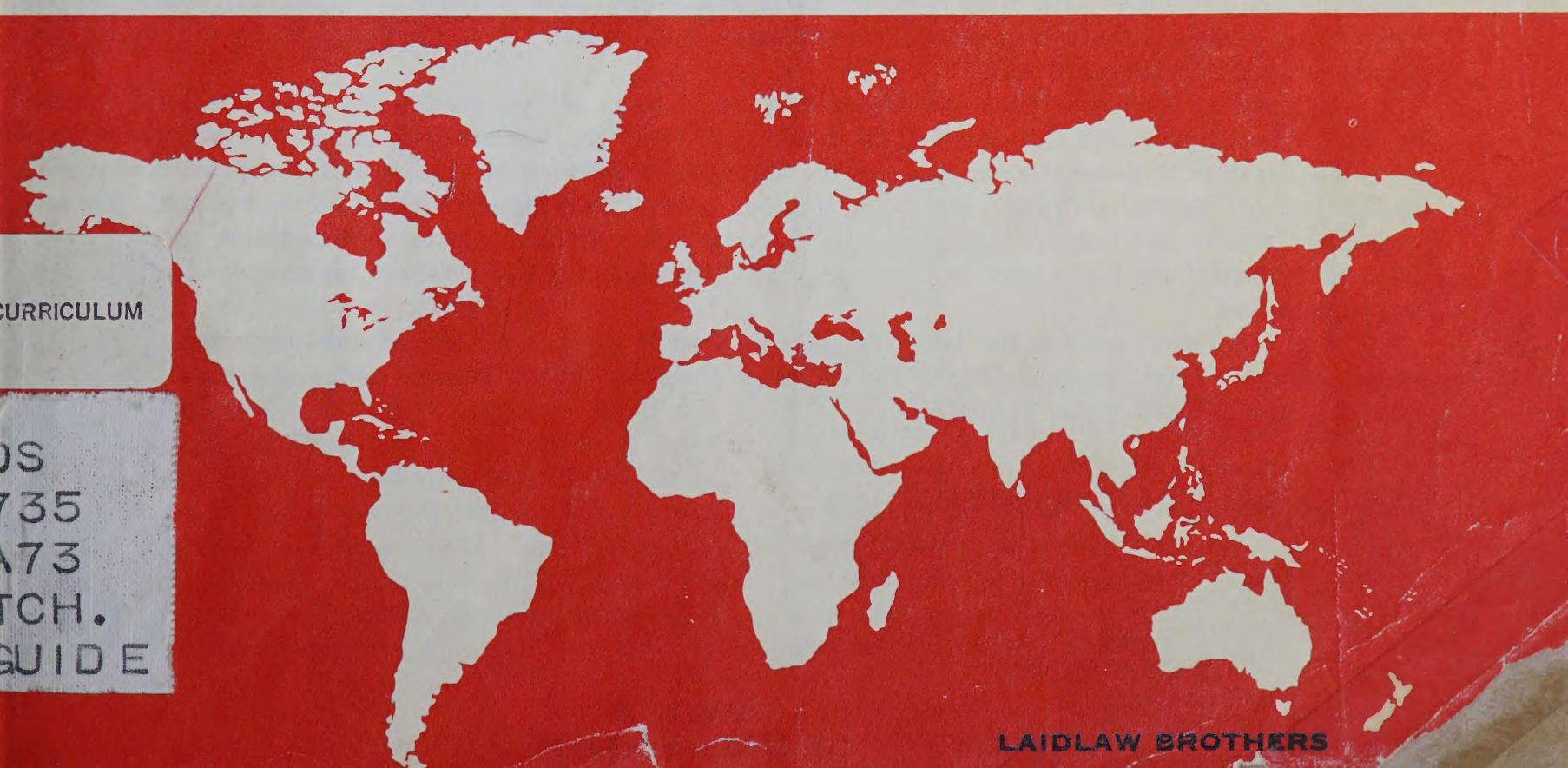
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TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR
**CHINESE
DILEMMA**

SECOND EDITION
FOREIGN RELATIONS SERIES • **JOHN P. ARMSTRONG**



LAIDLAW BROTHERS

UNIT ON CHINA

by Martha J. Porter

INTRODUCTION

Until World War II, the handful of missionaries, scholars, and businessmen who composed a clique of "Old China Hands" seemed to serve as an adequate line of communications between the United States and China. Today, the potential threat which Red China poses to Asia and to our own national security has become one of the most critical issues of our age. Names which once represented mere points on a map—Korea, North Vietnam, Quemoy, Tibet, and Laos—now bring home the harsh lesson that China is everybody's business. For, with one-fourth of the world's population harnessed to the growing force of Red China, the United States must be prepared to meet unlimited challenges in Asia.

Are we pursuing a policy which is compatible with our ideology and yet protects our national security? Before the student can grapple with this question, he should understand the basic underpinnings of both Red Chinese policy and our own. *Chinese Dilemma* presents the fundamental problems we face in our China policy: the possible conflicts between traditional Chinese values and those of communism; the relationship between poverty, illiteracy, geographic factors, and industrial progress; the theoretical and specific aspects of recognition; the ambivalent status of Nationalist and Red China; and the nature of Communist China's economic, military, and psychological impact upon Asia.

Part I of this Guide analyzes the booklet's content. Part II suggests a series of activities which can help the student achieve a better understanding of the challenge posed by China's colossal power and a realistic view of America's task in meeting that challenge.

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CONTENT

As *Chapter 1* indicates, although public concern is intense, general knowledge of China does not extend much beyond fictional stereotypes. True, the Bamboo Curtain and the absence of American observers in Red China do limit us in our knowledge of current happenings, but there is some information available and it is important that our people learn as much as they can. The world has already felt the impact of the power concentrated in the colossus of China—a power that shows every sign of rapidly increasing.

Chapter 2 underlines the fact that geographic considerations are essential for an understanding of any nation. Like the United States, China is large in area, blessed with abundant resources, ports, and rivers. Also, both countries have been isolated geographically until recently, and both have emerged from World War II as principal world powers.

China's rivers, providing about 100,000 miles of navigable waterways, are one of her great assets. But these rivers are liabilities as well, for in times of heavy rain the flood damage is extensive, leaving millions of people destitute and plagued by famine. Pages 5 and 6 refer to problems of flood control. The teacher may wish to ask one student to report on the progress which has been made on Communist projects in the Huai and Yellow River valleys.

China's exploding population is another crucial factor in assessing its strength. Clearly, a strong labor force and formidable army can be drawn from almost 700 million people; but, by the same token, more mouths to feed mean more problems for Mao's government which faces severe agricultural difficulties. The bitter famines which are part of China's history have not been eliminated by even the grim determination of the Communist planners. Students of Chinese affairs disagree about the Red regime's attitudes toward its population problem. Some scholars claim that, with communization, Red China is actually under-populated and lacks sufficient middle-management personnel and an adequately trained labor force.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 reveal the heritage of the Chinese—a heritage which must be considered in any analysis of present-day events.

The values and traditions which the Chinese preserved for thousands of years continue today in Chinese families throughout the world. In fact, some experts wonder if these values have become so rooted in the Chinese culture, that the Chinese might either modify or eventually reject the Communist system.

Although the Chinese are considered by many Westerners to be a backward people, it should not be forgotten that as far back as Marco Polo China has had its impact on the West. Gunpowder, the compass, and movable printing type constitute only a small part of

the contribution of the Chinese, and while Europe groped for civilization during the Dark Ages, China enjoyed a flourishing civilization. The fact that China did not develop technologically did not prevent the Chinese from developing a civilization in which they took great pride. Indeed, they considered themselves the most superior people on earth.

In traditional China living standards were polarized, with the gentry-scholar class at the very top and the peasant at the very bottom of the social hierarchy. The gentry preserved the arts of China and the administrative functionings (both good and bad) of Chinese government. The peasants provided the mainstay of China's economy, supplying food and labor at a minimal cost.

Students may wish to compare traditional Asian despotism with the hierarchy of present-day communism in China. Can one draw parallels between the Communist party, contemporary China's elite, and the Mandarins of traditional China? What are some similarities and differences between the highly structured social system of traditional China and the tightly organized society under Communist rule?

Although we usually think of China as a homogeneous nation, it should be noted that there have been great differences among her people and their languages. Despite a general uniformity of written Chinese, dialects have varied so from province to province, that a citizen of Canton could not understand a man from

Harbin. Mao's government has not only attempted to educate all Chinese, the Communists have made significant efforts in language reform, including attempts to introduce a Roman alphabet. Some students may wish to consider the significance of a nation's language and think about the implications of an ideographic language accessible to very few and a language with a simple alphabet available to many.

The student may well ask how, in such a heterogeneous country, the people managed to absorb and retain their "Chineseness." A partial answer can be found in the doctrines of Confucianism: honor your father and mother and be temperate in all things. The traditional practice of deference to parental authority made it easier for autocratic direction of the nation's affairs. For, just as the parent was a person to be revered, so was the nobleman an authority to whom the peasant owed homage. The solidity of the chain of relationships and the respect for moderation discouraged any drastic changes, and for centuries the Chinese maintained the *status quo*.

In their pride and dignity, the Chinese developed the concept of "face" to a very high degree. The concept of "face" should be considered in the analysis of the forces which revolutionized China (*Chapter 6*). To assist your students in understanding Chinese reactions to the West, you might ask them how they would have felt about the "Open Door" policy if they had been

merchants in Canton during the 1900's. Or, if they had been peasants in 1900, would they have joined the Boxer Rebellion?

When the Chinese jettisoned absolute monarchy and adopted the republican form of government, democracy did not grow. Under the veneer of republicanism, the authoritarian system with its components of corruption and nepotism continued. This does not mean that the Chinese Nationalists did not contribute any material advancements during their period of rule. It does mean, however, that they had to work against a background of Chinese popular resistance or apathy. Also, they were faced with the herculean task of uniting a country which lacked modern transportation and communications systems, a country in which a variety of dialects were spoken, and a country whose population was mostly illiterate.

Other conditions which contributed to the downfall of the Nationalists and the success of the Communists were: the disillusionment of the intellectuals, a populace exhausted after its struggles with the Japanese, a desire among the peasants to own their own land, and an unstable economic structure. (Values of the Chinese yen fluctuated so wildly at this time that barter was substituted for the use of money throughout the country —a runaway inflation reminiscent of the inflationary period in Germany after World War I.)

A view of Western policy during the last three decades reveals that our policy has not always been con-

sistent or logical. Despite our gestures of friendship, many of our actions contributed to disenchantment, frustration, and disgust with Western policy makers on the part of many Chinese. At Versailles, we appeared to falter in our promise to respect China's territorial integrity when Shantung was ceded to Japan. Later we failed to take positive action when the Japanese invaded China in 1937 and, in fact, sold scrap iron to the Japanese prior to Pearl Harbor. Perhaps President Roosevelt's pressure for Chinese participation in post-War conferences helped assuage some Chinese resentment, but considerable ill-will remained. And the popular sentiment in the United States after World War II was to disengage ourselves from world-wide commitments. (See pages 33 and 34 which lists the aims of our policy after World War II.)

As *Chapter 7* indicates, the time was ripe for Communist activity and the Communists took advantage of every opportunity available to them. Because the Chinese were proud, Communist promises to restore China to a position of leadership had great appeal. As the Communists purged the landowners, the peasants saw hope for more to eat and realization of their dreams of owning their own land. And how could the peasants fear losing their freedom when they had never had any to lose?

In any discussion of China, the fundamental differences between a simple and a total dictatorship should

be noted. The considerations listed on pages 35 and 36 may assist the student in seeing the difference between Chiang's dictatorship and that of Mao. Other questions to be raised are: Can the totalitarian regime of the Red Chinese sweep away traditions and values which have survived for thousands of years? (Page 22 indicates elements in Chinese tradition which may limit the Communists.) Are the Communists giving the Chinese what they want? What price have the Chinese paid for their economic growth? Do you think that China could make the same industrial progress if it were not under a system of total dictatorship?

The relationship between Red China and the Soviet Union is an essential factor to consider, and some aspects of Chinese-Soviet ties are discussed on pages 39 and 40. In what ways is Red China dependent upon the Soviet Union? What benefits does the Soviet Union derive from its friendship with Red China? What factors might make the Soviet Union dependent upon Red China?

Note the cartoon on page 35 which relates to Chinese-Soviet ties. Have there been any indications that the Soviet Union has reason to fear the growing strength of Mainland China? Do you think that the way in which a country interprets Marxist-Leninism directly affects its domestic and foreign policies? Or, more generally, how much direct influence does a nation's ideology have on its political behavior?

Do disputes among nations arise primarily because

of ideological differences? Because of economic rivalries? Because of social and psychological factors? Or do conflicts break out when a combination of differences occurs under particular economic and political circumstances?

Some Americans believe that the United States might eventually find itself an ally of the Soviet Union in a struggle against Red China. Other Americans argue that such a claim is a wild impossibility, that the ideological ties between the Soviet Union and Red China are too strong to permit serious conflicts between the Communist powers. Ask students to speculate about these two viewpoints and to support one view or the other or to explain why neither position is tenable.

Regardless of ties which exist between Red China and the Soviet Union, it is apparent that China is becoming a world power in its own right. The accomplishments of the Red Chinese are discussed on pages 37 to 39. As a potential threat to world security, Red China poses serious problems for us. The forces of Chinese nationalism; the extent to which China threatens the Far East; the military, economic, and psychological weapons which the United States has at hand to protect its national security; and the extent to which the United States should use those weapons are major problems discussed in *Chapter 8*.

China's great surge of nationalism indicates a very natural desire: the Chinese want to restore their nation

and way of life to a position of prominence in the world. Moreover, the Chinese want to enjoy the economic and technological benefits of a modern, industrialized society. Key questions center around the means China chooses to achieve its goals. The slogan "Twenty Years Work in One Day" clearly indicates the direction of Red Chinese domestic policy: this generation will make enormous sacrifices for China's future.

The objectives of Red China's foreign policy, however, are not so clear. Do the Chinese intend to conquer all of Asia by force? Chinese Communist aggression in Korea and the Indochinese peninsula, their sporadic attacks upon the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, their harsh suppression of the Tibetan uprising, and Chinese attacks on India's borders point to a China which can assemble and is willing to use powerful military force.

The cartoon on page 16, "Let's Play War, It Will Take Their Mind Off Food" reflects one of the oldest diversionary tactics to which nations have resorted in times of domestic crisis—focus a population's attention on trouble outside the country.

In *Chapter 8*, Dr. Armstrong points out that Red Chinese military tactics have shifted from those of open aggression used in Korea to more subtle forms of subversion and guerilla warfare now employed in Laos and South Vietnam. On page 44, the author notes that in

Southeast Asia we have very new and very old types of warfare to contend with. (A discussion of the French and Indian wars can be greatly enlivened with comparison between "guerilla tactics" of the 18th century and those of the 20th.)

Moreover, since the summer of 1959, relations between India and Red China have steadily deteriorated under the barrage of accusations which the Communists have launched against the Nehru government. As a sidelight to their China studies, some of your pupils may wish to follow Indian affairs more closely. The Tibetan crisis and border disputes between India and Red China have caused many observers to speculate whether India can maintain its position of neutrality. The Sino-Indian conflict grew extremely grave during October, 1962, when the Chinese Communists launched full-scale attacks against Indian posts along the Himalayan frontiers, bringing tanks against outposts both in the East (Rima) and West (the Ladakh area).

Students should also note, however, that Red China has made considerable gains in Asia through the peaceful means of aid and trade. This economic penetration has been enhanced by Red China's growing prestige, and even though many Asians fear China's military strength, they still respect the enormous industrial strides which have been made on the Mainland.

Chapter 9 details the arguments for and against recognition of Red China. Is recognition an effective tool?

By continuing our embargo against Communist China, are we effectively retarding the growth of a potentially strong enemy, or are we driving the Chinese toward closer cooperation with the Soviet Union?

As the student assesses the China situation, he must ask: Can the United States continue to give Chiang's government financial as well as moral support? Is our present policy in our best interests? Are we losing valuable allies by our continued support of Chiang's regime? On the other hand, would we "lose face" throughout the entire Far East if we were to withdraw our support? Is it possible to recognize "two Chinas"?

Others have said that we should not discontinue aid

to Chiang but we should place conditions upon our aid to insure that our aid is used efficiently and for peaceful purposes. They argue that since Red China has shown the world that it could rise—under a Communist regime—to world leadership, our duty is to make Formosa a showcase of Western democracy. We must prove to peoples in underdeveloped areas that they can achieve a higher standard of living by democratic means rather than the whiplash.

A study of America's involvement in the Chinese dilemma calls for a spirit of understanding of the Chinese people and their heritage, and an honest appraisal of our best national interests throughout the world.

NOTES:

ACTIVITIES

I FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE SURVEY AND OPINIONNAIRE

A one-page survey and opinionnaire are included with the guide. Provide each student with a mimeographed copy and allow about 20 minutes for the class to fill out the forms. This survey can be used to tell you what your students already know about the Middle East. Have the survey self-scored and returned to you for future planning. Because the opinionnaire is designed to reveal pupil attitudes, there are no right or wrong answers. Discuss the opinionnaire in class so that students can clarify and defend their views.

Give the opinionnaire again at the end of the unit. Students should be encouraged to consider why their views have changed or remained the same. In the second opinionnaire, ask students to check those items for which they still need additional data before taking a stand. Students should also mark those statements which did not satisfy them, in terms of alternatives presented. Thus, this exercise enables the student to analyze his own views, and at the same time, to evaluate the opinions presented in the survey.

II MAPS

Chapter 2 of the booklet provides the groundwork for a teacher-led discussion on the geography of China. In addition to the map in the back of the booklet, you

may wish to use a large wall map which shows China in relation to the rest of Asia. (This may be obtained from the *Asia Society*, 112 East 64th Street, New York City 21, New York.) Items 8, 9, and 10 under Additional Activities suggest topics for class discussion or individual reports. Other geographical factors should be considered. For example, why do most Chinese live in a relatively small area? Why are China's rivers both a curse and an asset? What natural boundaries isolate China from the rest of the world?

Where is Formosa located in relation to Red China? Where are the islands of Quemoy, Matsu, and the Pescadores? Which offshore islands are held by the Nationalists? The Communists? Ask your students to determine the strategic importance of each of these islands and to state why they agree or disagree with Chiang Kai-shek that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu are essential for the defense of Formosa. See the map on page 57 of *Chinese Dilemma*.

III FILMS

A list of recent films on Asia may be obtained from the *Asia Society*, 112 East 64th Street, New York 21, New York.

Children of China. University of Kansas Film Library, Lawrence, Kansas.

What is China? University of Kansas Film Library, Lawrence, Kansas.

Understanding the Chinese. Produced in 1951 by Karl Robinson, 10 min., color; rental \$4 for two days. Audio-Visual Department, World Affairs Center for the United States, U.N. Plaza at 47th Street, New York City 17, New York. An explanation of cultural patterns which have functioned through China's long past and continue to function today.

Peiping Family. Produced by Julien Bryan in 1948. 21 min., black and white; rental \$4 per day. American Museum of Natural History Film Library, Central Park West at 79th Street, New York City 24, New York, \$3 per day, Audio-Visual Aids Service, University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois. This description of middle-class Chinese family customs and attitudes, while produced in 1948, is still useful in explaining the essence of Chinese life.

The World's Great Religions: Confucianism and Taoism. One of the Life Filmstrip series on Great Religions. *China: Communism in Asia.* New York Times Filmstrip, January, 1961.

The Story of Chinese Art. Produced by Wango Weng in 1952. Color, 20 min., rental \$6.25 for one to five days, Audio-Visual Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, \$10 per day, Athena Films, Inc., 165 West 46th Street, New York City 19, New York. A short survey of Chinese art describes sources of Chinese inspiration and the extent of China's cultural influence.

IV INDIVIDUAL AND COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

Topics for written or oral reports should be assigned no later than the second or third day of the unit. This will enable students to contribute information on their individual areas of study to general class discussions and will also provide sufficient time for research. Students should be encouraged to learn the art of organized note taking. For example, if the student is going to keep his notes on 3 x 5 cards, he should use a folder or a file box in which to keep them in order to avoid losing any notes. If he prefers a notebook, a looseleaf notebook should be kept specifically for this purpose.

At all times the student should be encouraged to interpret sources of information and make reports in his own words. Assigning topics which are provocative and specific can help students avoid the temptation of "lifting" their reports from the nearest encyclopedia.

On the back cover of the booklet, twelve activities are listed. Activity 4 is an important research activity, for students must know the conditions which exist in Taiwan before they can grapple with the problems of the current Chinese crisis.

1. Activity 1 asks the student to prepare a biography of Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat-sen, or Mao Tse-tung. Other biographical reports you may wish to assign are those of Claire L. Chennault, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, or Chou En-lai.

Your more able students may wish to examine the life of Chiang Kai-shek in light of the "great man" theory, which asserts that a powerful leader far more than the world situation determines the course of history. Proponents of this view say that only with Chiang's forceful leadership have the Nationalist Chinese managed to maintain an independent government on Formosa. Those who support this theory think that when Chiang dies, the Formosan government will collapse and be taken over by the Communists. Those who disagree with the "great man" theory feel that one man cannot alone stage history. They maintain that complex political, economic, and social factors are all essential determinants in "making" history. They argue that the desire for freedom, respect for traditional values, and the hatred of communism are forces which will be strong enough to unite the Nationalist Chinese after the death of Chiang. The student may use his research on the life of Chiang Kai-shek and the political and social climate in which he rose to power, to support or refute the "great man" theory.

2. *The overseas Chinese.*

a. Report on the Chinese in the United States. What role did the Chinese play in the building of American railroads? What factors led to the Exclusion Act? What did this act state, and how do you think it affected our relationships with China? What factors brought about the repeal of this act (1943)? What are the present immigration laws regarding the Chinese?

b. Report on the Chinese communities in New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. How large are these communities? Why do you think that the Chinese preferred to segregate themselves from the rest of the community in which they reside? What are the statistics regarding delinquency and crime among the Chinese in these cities as opposed to those of other groups?

c. Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia. Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand, and Burma are some of the countries in Southeast Asia which contain large numbers of "overseas Chinese." Choose one country in this area and describe the growth of Chinese influence in it. How does the presence of the Chinese constitute a minority problem? To what degree have the Chinese been integrated into the countries in which they reside? What steps have Southeast Asian countries taken to promote better relationships between their citizens and the Chinese residents? In what ways might the existence of a large Chinese community affect that country's relationships with Red China? (See: *Southeast Asia and American Policy*, Foreign Relations Series.)

3. *Religion has played an important part in shaping traditional China.* Report on Confucianism. How do you think the basic virtue of Confucianism—"honor and obey your parents"—has affected the lives of the Chinese? See: *Confucianism As A Way of Life*, by H. G. Creel, University of Chicago Press. Also: *Wisdom of China*, by Lin Yutang; *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, by Arthur Waley.

4. *What is a dictatorship?* How does a simple dictatorship differ from a total dictatorship? Diagram the structure of government which exists in Red China and indicate the relationship between the government and the Communist party. Put in the names of officials wherever possible. Diagram the structure of the Nationalist Chinese government. What role does the citizen play in Red China? In Nationalist China? What differences do you see between the controls of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek? See: *Mao's China*, by Peggy Durdin, Headline Series No. 136, 1959, and *Communist China—Continuing Revolution*, by A. Doak Barnett, Headline Series, No. 153, 1962. Also: *Awakened China*, by Felix Greene, New York, New York: Doubleday, 1961, 425 pp. *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, by John K. Fairbank, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

5. *Natural resources play a vital role in a country's development.* What are China's resources? A Chinese maxim states, "He who controls Manchuria controls the North China Plain, he who controls the North China Plain controls China." What resources does Manchuria have which contribute to its importance? Make a timeline which shows the Chinese and non-Chinese forces which have controlled Manchuria in the last 50 years.

6. *Sino-American relations.* Although the recent Chinese crisis has heightened American concern, our interest in China is not new. In the early 1800's

Americans traded with the Chinese, and diplomatic contacts followed upon the heels of trade relations. Although subsequent relations between the two countries were generally cordial, the path of friendship has not always been smooth. Make a timeline which traces Sino-American relationships from the early 19th century to the present day. The chart should indicate briefly those actions which contributed to cordial Sino-American relations and those which led to Chinese resentment of the West. Some items which could be included in this chronology are:

- a. China trade beginning in the early 1800's.
- b. Cushing Treaty and extra-territoriality (1848).
- c. Chinese Exclusion Act (1882).
- d. Missionary activity since 1850.
- e. The Open Door Policy (1899-1900).
- f. American policy before and after the Boxer Rebellion.
- g. Washington Conference (1922).
- h. Aid to Chiang during World War II.
- i. Extra-territoriality and immigration exclusion discontinued (1943).
- j. Post-World War II policy.

See: "Communist China: New World Power," *Current History*, September, 1961. "Communist China, 1962," *Current History*, September, 1962. *The United States and China*, John K. Fairbank, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962. *China's Response to the West*, Teng and Fairbank, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

7. *Describe the life of a Chinese peasant in 1900 and in the 1960's.* See: "Red China: The First Ten Years," Special Issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1959. *Red China, An Asian View*, by Sripathi Chandra-sekhar, New York, New York: Praegar, 1961. This is a very readable account of an Indian's recent travels throughout Communist China. An older, but very colorful and still useful account of life in traditional and Communist China appeared in a Special Issue of *Realities*, August, 1956.

8. *Draw cartoons which present several views of one of the following topics:* The Soviet-Chinese relations, social and economic progress in Communist China, the United States' policy regarding Nationalist China, or Communist China's admission to the United Nations.

9. *Chinese Communism.* In 1956 the Chinese Communist party issued a statement which said: "Communist parties of all countries must be united, but at the same time must maintain their independence . . . If in their mutual relations they forcibly impose their views on one another . . . then their solidarity will be harmed." Discuss this statement in light of the development of communism in Red China. How does communism in Red China differ from that in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union? See: Entire issues of *Current History*, December, 1960; September, 1961; and September, 1962.

V TEACHER LECTURE OR INDIVIDUAL REPORTS

The contributions which the Chinese have made to world civilization should be considered in any study of China. The lecture may be presented in conjunction with material found in *Chapter 3* of the booklet. Teachers should stress the importance of historical background in understanding modern times. China's cultural past has direct bearing upon its role in the world today, for its highly developed civilization contributed to Chinese feelings of superiority and nationalism. Also, the influence of the Chinese upon Western art is unmistakable. Some contributions which you might mention in your lecture are:

Agriculture:	Rotation of crops, use of legumes, cattle breeding, tea, fruits and nuts, green manure, bamboo and mulberry trees, and irrigation.
Architecture:	Garden plantings, walls, memorial arches, and tombs.
Art:	Painting of flowers and animals, birds, and trees. Calligraphy. Use of silk, jade, ivory, bronze, lacquer, porcelain, glass and enamel.
Government:	Civil Service system.
Literature:	Poetry, ballads. Dictionaries. Libraries.

VI QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER THOUGHT

Questions "For Further Thought" are found at the end of every chapter. These may be used to stimulate class discussion, for they are designed to encourage students to think beyond the reading they have done and to explore fundamental concepts. For example, the question on page 18 can be used to ask the student to examine both Chinese and American values. "Honor thy parents is a virtue in our culture as well as in the Chinese. What do you think honor thy parents means in our culture in comparison to the Chinese?"

Consider question 3 on page 60: "Should our government recognize any government which cannot prove that the people consent to it?" This question asks the student to consider carefully the role of law and moral principles in the recognition of any country. In discussing question 3, you might ask your students to list dictatorships which the United States does recognize. Why does the United States recognize these governments?

VII SOURCES FOR INFORMATION

Although considerable information may be obtained from the booklet itself, your students should be encouraged to use outside sources. A bibliography is given on page 67. Annotated bibliographies, film lists,

descriptions of art exhibits, and other materials on Asia may be obtained from:

The Asia Society
112 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

The State Department has many publications which are free or inexpensive. Congress frequently publishes area studies. *Ask for specific area studies.* They may be obtained by writing to:

Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Chairman
Committee on Foreign Affairs
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

A valuable source of information is *China: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture* by Chang-tu Hu in collaboration with five other American and Chinese, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1960, 610 pp., \$10.00. This is the sixth study in the Human Relations Area Files Series Survey of World Cultures.

Books, pamphlets, and newspapers published in Peking are currently being sold under a U. S. Treasury

License by *China Books & Periodicals*, 334 West Schiller Street, Chicago 10, Illinois. Free catalogue upon request. Materials are in English and include speeches by Mao Tse-tung and other Red Chinese leaders, contemporary Communist fiction, and recent translations of traditional literature.

The Sources of Chinese Tradition, New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. A compilation of Chinese poetry, literature, political and philosophical writings.

VIII DEBATE

Announce several days in advance that there will be an informal debate: "Resolved, that the United States should recognize Red China." Appoint five students to conduct the debate, two to give the affirmative side, two the negative, and one to be chairman. This should be an informal debate and ample time should be allowed for questions and comments from the rest of the class. Allow ten minutes for each side's presentations, five minutes for each rebuttal, and then throw the discussion open to the class. Non-debaters should prepare at least two points they wish to bring up in the debate if the debaters do not do so.

Students should use as many sources as possible. Presentations of both arguments are found in "Should the U.S. Change Its China Policy?" by E. Seligman and R. Walker, *Headline Series*, Foreign Policy Association, May-June, 1958.

If there is time at the end of the period, conduct an oral evaluation of the debate. Stress that this is not to be a judgment of "Who won?" but an unbiased appraisal of positive and negative points raised by each side, good techniques used, clarity of points brought up by the class, etc. If the debate runs for the entire class period, the oral evaluation may be made at the beginning of the next class.

IX CARTOONS

An essential aim of many political cartoons is to tell a story which will strike home to the reader in an entirely different and, at times, more emphatic way than does a written statement. After a definite system of analysis is established, your students will be able to spot quickly the cartoonist's "argument." The following is a suggested procedure:

1. What is happening in the cartoon?
2. Identify the symbols used.
3. What is the significance of the caption?
4. State in a few words what the cartoonist is trying to say.

Applying these steps to the cartoon above, we see that:

1. A helpless child has grown into a powerful figure. His "parent" who helped him "grow," now looks at the child with apprehension.



2. The child is Communist China (in the person of Mao Tse-tung) and the parent represents the Soviet Union (in the person of Nikita Khrushchev).

3. "And Now Look At Him" means that the child, Communist China, has grown up.

4. The cartoonist is saying that the Soviets, in their desire to expand communism, have eagerly helped China in its development. Although the Soviets wished to see a weakened and decadent China become strong economically, they now wonder if China has not become too powerful. Might China actually threaten the security of the Soviet Union?

One of your better students may wish to report on *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, G. F. Hudson, Lawenthal, Mac Farquhar, New York: Praeger, 1961.

Ask your students to analyze those propaganda cartoons which appear on page 29 of *Chinese Dilemma*.

X MAKING YOUR OWN DECISIONS

You may wish to use *Chapter 10* in a culminating activity, which asks students to "make their own decisions" regarding United States policy in the Far East. Such an activity can enable students to clarify their thinking on a particular issue and to gain some insight into the difficulties our policymakers face when they must make decisions. At all times students should be encouraged to look for new approaches, which may not be considered in this text.

NOTES:

FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE SURVEY

(For use with the Foreign Relations Project's *China* Unit)

To the teacher: This test may be used to determine what your students know about China *before* they begin their unit of study. You may reproduce it for classroom use.

Directions: Place the letter of the answer in the space provided in the left-hand margin.

 d 1. The population of Red China is approximately
 a. 300 million. b. 700,000. c. one billion. d. 700 million.

 c 2. Which of the following was *not* an important influence in Chinese thought?
 a. Confucianism. b. Taoism. c. Islam. d. Buddhism.

 b 3. The Nationalist Government of China presently controls
 a. Mainland. b. Taiwan. c. Hong Kong. d. Singapore.

 b 4. Which of the following is *not* a Red Chinese leader?
 a. Mao Tse-tung. b. Lin Yutang. c. Chu Teh. d. Chou En-Lai.

 c 5. The "Father" of the Chinese Revolution which overthrew the Ch'ing Dynasty was
 a. Mao Tse-tung. b. Chiang Kai-shek. c. Sun Yat-sen. d. Wu Mang.

 a 6. Nepotism was a characteristic of traditional Chinese life. It means
 a. appointing relatives to favorable positions. b. drought and floods. c. picture writing.
 d. love of scrolls.

 a 7. Mrs. Soong Ching Ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, is a vice-president of Communist China.
 Her sister, another famous Soong daughter, is the wife of
 a. Chiang Kai-shek. b. Mao Tse-tung. c. U Nu. d. President Sukarno.

 d 8. Which of the following countries does *not* share a border with Red China?
 a. the Soviet Union. b. Burma. c. Laos. d. Malaya.

OPINIONNAIRE

To the teacher: Note that this is *not* a test. The Opinionnaire is designed to help your students recognize the attitudes they have about China.

To the student: Mark "A" if you agree with the statement, "D" if you definitely disagree, and "U" if you are uncertain how you feel. If you think that you do not have enough information about an item to form an opinion, place an "X" next to that item.

If you would like to clarify your views or briefly explain your position, you may do so in the space provided after each question.

- _____ 1. If Red China were admitted to the United Nations, it would completely destroy the United Nations as an instrument of peace.
- _____ 2. The United States will lose allies if we do not revise our China policy.
- _____ 3. The Communist government on the mainland does not represent the will of the Chinese leaders.
- _____ 4. Chiang Kai-shek is actually a war lord more corrupt than Communist Chinese leaders.
- _____ 5. The Nationalists should attack the mainland before the Communists grow more powerful.
- _____ 6. We should recognize Red China, because we can no longer ignore the existence of 700 million people.
- _____ 7. The Chinese Communists want to take over Asia.
- _____ 8. The Communists have done more for the welfare of the Chinese people than any other Chinese government ever has.
- _____ 9. Cultural achievements are not very important in industrial development.
- _____ 10. Nationalism is the most powerful force in the world today.

CLASS PERIOD	ACTIVITIES
2-3	Activities I, II
4-7	
8-11	Activities III, IV
12-18	
19-22	Topic—Traditional China, activities V, VI
23-32	Topic—continued, activities IV, V
33-40	Topic—Transitional China
41-51	Topic—Communism
41-51	Topic—Communism
52-60	
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Chinese dilemma.

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